1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 896

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakáḷagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*Auwdǫ́ldjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakáḷagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pÀk'ígłθaaláádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hÀlkáf'ð'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 202). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (1), 206).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 60 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

Hiff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B. Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

848 culture patern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier [114] (1928, 30) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The [845] practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of asimilar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the householdof his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at thetime of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his fiture residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac- [591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough topermit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby beneat Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employedas a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [702] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in dan-
756 ger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
844 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 306) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [845 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [315] [304]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, [177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a